

# TRUTH

ORGAN of the TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION of the USA • SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL No. 155 OCTOBER 29, 1982 25¢

## Down with the Republicans and Democrats!

The Trotskyist Organization calls on workers and youth to organize a Workers Vote in the 1982 elections.

*No support to the Democratic Party!  
Build a Workers Party!*

We call on you to write in the name of our candidate, Barbara Putnam, in the 13th Congressional District, and to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Tim Craine and Elizabeth Ziers, for Governor and lieutenant Governor, on November 2.

Two weeks ago, the far right candidate of the Republican Party for Governor, Richard Headlee, made the statement that all supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment "are proponents of lesbian marriage, homosexual marriage."

If it was not clear before, this certainly speaks volumes about what Headlee's policy is not only towards women, but also, by inference, toward blacks, the unions, and those who oppose Reagan's imperialist policies. So does this mean it would be better to have a Democrat in office?

No! Because that is not the issue in these elections. Never mind that the candidate of the Democratic Party, Blanchard, was a prime architect of the Chrysler bailout, which started the whole drive for concessions that the ranks of the unions are fighting today. Never mind that one of Blanchard's staunch supporters, the UAW-backed *Detroit Free Press*, itself criticizes Blanchard for sitting back and letting Headlee's neanderthal remarks win the election for him. Blanchard, a true bourgeois diplomat, knows that anything he says will only lose him votes, because fundamentally Blanchard has done nothing even to merit the support he has gotten from the Michigan labor bureaucracy — and you do not have to do much for them.

Never mind looking for a solution between Blanchard and Headlee, because the real issue in these elections is *who will rule?* As long as the capitalist class is in power there will be concessions, there will be racism, and there will be imperialism. Why do you think that Doug Fraser, the heads of the Michigan AFL-CIO, and the Michigan Education Association endorsed a candidate, Blanchard, even before the Democratic primary, for the first time in 12 years? Because their jobs depend on the continued existence of the capitalists in power and all that goes with it, and because the Democratic Party as a capitalist party, is the last desperate maneuver of these bureaucrats to stop the working class from bringing down Reagan, in its own name and with its own means — the General Strike.

And therefore what is required in these elections is to build a party to lead the working class to power.

The Socialist Workers Party is not fighting for such a party. That much we have taken up in *Truth* before. If anything its campaign has only reinforced the illusions of many workers in a gradual reform of the system. But, it is a working class party, and by voting for its candidates you are voting against the capitalists' parties.

The Trotskyist Organization is for a revolutionary leadership and we have said so. Our candidate, Barbara Putnam, has fought for a National Strike of auto among Chrysler workers, the beginning of a general strike to bring down Reagan. She has fought for a Central Strike Committee to take the strike out of the hands of Fraser and his gang.

But what counts is to build the party that can lead such a fight. This is the Workers Party that we are for. And this is why we have run Barbara in the 13th Congressional District where the Trotskyist Organization had the most support in the Mayoral elections against Coleman

Young. And we are running against one of the most liberal members of the Democratic Party, George Crockett, but a

Democrat nonetheless.

We call on you to write in the name of Barbara Putnam, and begin to build the

Workers Party with us. Make the 1982 elections the beginning of a fight for a new leadership of the working class.

## With Workers Poland for Revolution!

The Fourth International has called for the organization of an International Workers Demonstration in Gdansk on December 13, anniversary of the imposition of the State of War against the Polish workers.

Every young person, every militant of the movement of the workers and the oppressed — *everyone who is for the socialist revolution* — must come to the active defense of the Polish Revolution, the greatest hope for socialism since World War II.

Contrary to what many workers may think, and to what many other forces would have you think, no one besides us is taking up this active defense of the Polish workers. Certainly not the trade union bureaucrats and Ronald Reagan, who have tried to associate the Polish workers aims with the goals of American imperialism. And not the so-called Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who refuse to build an open mobilization around the Polish Revolution, with the excuse that "pro-imperialist" elements might capture the movement. In other words they refuse to fight the reactionary campaign of Reagan and the bureaucrats.

All these forces, from the American bourgeoisie itself, to its lieutenants and privates, had operated on the premise that martial law would give a breathing space in Poland. But such has not been the case.

The first day of work after the Polish junta finally declared Solidarnosc ("Solidarity") illegal, tens of thousands of Polish workers went on strike. First in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarnosc, workers shut down the Lenin Shipyard and battled the hated ZOMO police in the streets, hurling bricks and Molotov cocktails, and setting up barricades.

After authorities declared the shipyards "militarized," meaning anyone striking could be shot, the strikes spread to Nova Huta, a working class suburb of Cracow, to the Silesia mining district and to the port of Szczecin. In Nova Huta a young demonstrator was shot and this only provoked further demonstrations. The response to the dissolution of Solidarnosc was widespread and the largest mobilization of the Polish workers since the declaration of martial law last December.

Two occurrences show the depth of the struggle of the Polish workers and their revolution. First, the fact that underground Solidarnosc leaders at first called for only a four-hour general strike on November 10, a full month after the Polish junta declared Solidarnosc illegal.

But the strikes and demonstrations began the day after the junta's decree. For one thing, this shows the underground leadership of Solidarnosc, which reportedly had debated over whether or not to participate in the new state-run trade unions, completely underestimated the strength of the workers' resolve.

Furthermore, young Polish workers were heard to be yelling in the streets "the army is with us." Which for one thing, clearly shows that the question of power and who will rule is at stake in Poland, not as everyone from the pseudo-Trotskyists to Reagan say, a trade union struggle.

In reality, there is a common trait that runs through the declarations of Reagan and the union bureaucracy, as well as the silence of the pseudo-Trotskyists. That trait is a definite predisposition to lie and

to hide the truth about the Polish workers from the American working class. And to try to hide their own motives as well.

Reagan, in his fireside chat October 10, after all the usual blabber about how he defends freedom (like in El Salvador and Lebanon among others), says what his real solution is:

"There can only be one path out of the current morass in Poland, and that is for the military regime to stand up to its own statement of principle . . ."

In fact, Reagan is putting pressure on the Kremlin and the Polish junta to force them to discipline the Polish workers. In the passage above two things are clear. Reagan sees the military regime as the government of Polish workers, and he calls on it to "stand up" for its own principles; namely, social order, martial law, etc.

This also is the meaning of taking away Poland's "most-favored nation" trading status, while releasing grain sales to the Soviet Union. Of course, one could say that there are political motivations for these actions, with the elections only weeks away and farmers already opposed to Reagan's past policy on the grain boycott. And that is true.

But there is more to it than slips of the tongue and economic inducements. Because, fundamentally, Reagan is out to crush the revolution, including in Poland. Everyone sees this is his aim in Lebanon, El Salvador and Nicaragua. He would like to see the Polish Revolution crushed too, but he cannot send troops into Poland. That would be totally out of consonance with the relationship of forces between the working class and the capitalists on an international scale.

What he can do, however, and what he has done, is three things. First, he can put pressure on the Kremlin and the Polish junta to stabilize the situation in Poland. Basically, Reagan doesn't care how many Polish workers are slaughtered any more than he does in El Salvador, because, he reasons, he will not be blamed for it — the Kremlin will.

Secondly, he can isolate the Polish Revolution, a policy that keeps the revolution from spreading to his territory and also puts tremendous pressure on the underground leadership of Solidarnosc to seek a national solution, and hence some sort of recognition of the Stalinist bureaucracy and a restricted role for Solidarnosc. But this would not get anywhere without the help of the workers' "own" misleaders who refuse to actively defend the Polish Revolution.

Thirdly, Reagan can use the extremely defensive position that the Kremlin is in around Poland to extract further concessions from the Stalinist bureaucracy in regard to Central America, in particular

through Castro. Because it is Castro who is capable of influencing the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the FDR-FMLN in El Salvador to come to terms with imperialism in Central America, and to create the conditions, through another "peaceful settlement" as in Lebanon, for a massacre.

So what has this got to do with a mobilization of the American working class in defense of the Polish Revolution? Everything, because the present leaderships of the working class all are quite conscious that what is going on in Poland is a revolution and they are desperately trying to hide it.

With the trade union bureaucrats this is obvious. They have always been among the biggest anti-communists, because the revolution threatens these parasites just as it does the bureaucrats in Poland. It is even to be expected that the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) would peddle the slanders of the Kremlin; it has always toed the Moscow line.

And this brings us to the so-called Trotskyists of the SWP. The Barnes leadership of the SWP is tied to the policy of the Kremlin hand and foot. Therefore, the SWP must remain silent on Poland, and furthermore, in order to do so it has shamefully integrated itself into the attempt of Reagan to make what is happening in Poland appear like a trade union struggle, and at the same time it echoes the Kremlin's policy by warning of "pro-imperialist" elements in the defenders of Workers Poland.

Thus, a mobilization in defense of the Polish Revolution by the millions of workers, militants and youth who marched on Solidarity Day, by those who are for the Polish Revolution, is more than a question of support. It is a fight to define a leadership of the Polish Revolution — and the American Revolution — against Stalinism.

This is why an International Workers Demonstration in Gdansk, December 13, built in the trade unions and workers organizations, is linked to the fight that the Trotskyist Organization/USA has taken up in the 1982 elections. A fight to build the Workers Party against the policy of the CPUSA, which is telling workers to support the Democratic Party on November 2. And a fight against the SWP, which calls on workers to "vote Socialist" while it doesn't even actively defend a workers revolution in Poland.

Read the Motion of Support to the Gdansk action on page three of this issue. Use it to organize and build support for the demonstration in your unions and organizations, among your fellow youth and workers. Build this international mobilization together with the Trotskyist Organization and the Fourth International. D.H.

### Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Michigan Governor Trotskyist Organization for Congress

Vote for Tim Craine for Governor in Michigan. Write-in Barbara Putnam for Congress, 13th Congressional District, Michigan (As the address of this paper vote for any necks payable to *Truth*.)

your help, we can build the

issue of *Truth* a line was inadvertently deleted from the article on the NBIPP convention. The article should read:

" . . . Either to a party to prepare the revolution . . . or to the imperialist Democratic Party. Why should this party be separated from a mobilization for the general strike to bring down Reagan and a break with the Democratic Party? We don't think it should . . . "

# Arms to the Salvadoran Rebels

To the workers of Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) and Local 7 (Chrysler Jefferson Avenue) of the UAW: your brothers and sisters in El Salvador need your help today!

They are facing the armed might of American imperialism, the same imperialism — under the same Reagan presidency — that you are facing today.

## Defeat Reagan

Reagan is out to take away everything you have gained since the 1930's. Concessions, budget cuts, preparations for war are the faces of this attack. But in El Salvador, the only face of this attack is the most brutal repression and all-out war. Nonetheless, these different faces have the same goal — to defeat the workers and the oppressed for the profit of the American imperialist ruling class.

The "peaceful" face that it shows to American workers now — and it is violent enough, in reality — will be replaced soon enough with the face of torture and massacre that it shows in El Salvador. If the workers and peasants in El Salvador are defeated by your enemy.

Most of you oppose the attempts by Reagan to wage war on the oppressed of El Salvador. And that is all to the good. Your opposition — whether in the form of open lack of support or of opposition in demonstrations and rallies — has definitely kept him from doing what he would like to do.

But now, fellow workers, it is time to move from passive opposition to Reagan

to active support for the Salvadoran rebels.

That is why we of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, which fights to unite the struggles of the workers of the Two Americas, call on you to organize, build and support a movement for arms to the guerrillas!

This very radical, this very drastic, idea is precisely the one that permits us not only to draw a very clear line between us and Reagan, but to actually take up a fight against him in action.

Ever since he came into office, back when "Watergate" Haig was still Secretary of State, Reagan has been howling and weeping about so-called arms shipments to the rebels by the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua and who knows who else.

We wish that this were true. We wish that these countries were really carrying out their elementary duty to those who are fighting and dying.

## They Need Your Help

But it is not true! The original "White Paper" put out by Reagan and Haig, which was supposed to "prove" these charges, was shown to be a fake by such well-known capitalist — and even Republican — papers like *The Wall Street Journal*. The very limited aid that did come — very briefly — from the Stalinist bureaucracy that runs the USSR and from its agent, Castro, was used only as a means to exert pressure on the rebels to "moderate" their demands to suit the desires of

these bureaucrats for a deal with US imperialism, with Reagan.

You have seen enough of such "moderation" right here — with Fraser as their apostle and "concessions" as their name. In other words, a sell-out!

No, the guerrillas are not rolling in guns and ammunition. Every battle they fight is fought at a disadvantage. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, head of the Popular Forces of Liberation, said in an appeal almost a year ago: "In face of this, it is necessary to set in motion the slogan, and the campaign on the world scale, of arms for the Salvadoran people, against the weapons of imperialist genocide!" (*Truth* #147).

Now more than ever, when the leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), who are tied to Stalinism and its false hopes in imperialism, are trying again to come to a "political solution" — a sell-out — with Reagan; now more than ever, when it is Cayetano Carpio and his fighters whom they are trying to isolate and defeat — it is imperative that the workers of the United States, with the auto workers in the lead, take up this fight.

Take over the union meetings, pass motions and carry them out, organize actions and demonstrations toward this end — their victory is yours . . . and it is desperately foolish to even think about allowing their defeat.

Arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas!

TRUTH

# Zuazo — Cover for Dictatorship

During the week beginning October 3, the Bolivian Congress, suspended for nearly two years by a military dictatorship, reconvened and elected Hernan Siles Zuazo, head of the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), a coalition of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement of the Left and the Communist Party — as president of Bolivia.

On October 10, Zuazo returned from exile in Peru and was installed in office as thousands cheered.

While governments and parties, as seemingly diverse as Reagan's Republican Party and the American Communist Party, are hailing these events as a return to democracy in Bolivia, in reality this new government is nothing but window dressing for one of the most vicious military dictatorships in history.

In early September, the Bolivian Workers Central (COB) declared a general strike of unlimited duration against the military dictatorship for "bread and freedom" and "a return to civilian rule."

Workers in factories and neighborhoods in Cochabamba and Sucre, bastions of the Bolivian working class, began to form General Assemblies to coordinate the actions as they have in previous struggles.

The military junta, headed by Guido Vildoso Calderon, responded by occupying Sucre and other mining districts, offering to step down and asking Zuazo to return.

The COB leadership, whose original demand was not the dissolution of the repressive forces but simply a return to civilian rule, did not pursue the struggle.

Zuazo postponed his actual return until after the Congress reconvened, the workers elected him — with hear with disgust Arala military dictatorship of Habib, Reagan, Begin, who did not keep the himself the What is the word of these scoundrels from the worth? They, they did nothing but carry their plan through to the end. Misery to the oppressed if they expect from them any other sort of behavior!

## Stalinism

The blow struck by reaction against the Palestinian people — and through this against the Lebanese workers and peoples

institute a "wartime economy."

As for the military dictators, those who have carried out imperialism's work in Bolivia, Zuazo has simply said: "Those who do not believe in democracy, and have interrupted it many times, depriving people of their liberties, should reflect and understand that their time has come to an end."

How nice. Now the way to deal with dictators is to ask them to reflect and mend their ways.

At the same time Zuazo has done nothing to remove the military from the mining districts nor to prosecute the generals publicly known as assassins and drug dealers. The Supreme Court refused to hear charges against Garcia Meza. Zuazo says: "More than taking reprisals, we are interested in building the democracy for which our martyrs died."

This is not the first time that Zuazo has come to try to save the day for the imperialists and their assassins in Bolivia. Following the revolution in 1952, in which workers occupied the mines, built militias and virtually destroyed the army, Zuazo presided over the implementation of the US plan to "stabilize the situation," rebuilt the army and used his prestige with the workers to delude and betray them.

Most recently, when a general strike in 1979 threatened to bring down the military dictatorship, he, in cooperation with Jimmy Carter, participated in a fraud of democratization which blocked the mobilization and prepared the ground for the 1980 coup d'etat. When the workers tried to organize in opposition to the coup, he called on them to stop in order to "avoid bloodshed."

Juan Lechin, head of the COB, has demanded that one-half of the ministers in Zuazo's government be union members as a condition for participation in it. But this will not change the nature of the government. It will only serve to further cover for the military. At the same time Lechin has refused to pursue the same in this mobilization against the

Even when these pawns intact. chais at the head — called first time in Bolivia to take to the streets to protest this sacres, they did it in the name of the government that is to say, in the name of the govern-

ment. In the elections that preceded the 1980 coup, under pressure from the workers, Lechin originally put himself forward as a candidate and then withdrew. And when the workers began to organize a general strike against the coup, Lechin, captured by the military, went on radio and TV and called on them to call off the strike.

The successive mobilizations of the Bolivian working class, the betrayals by their leadership and consequent vicious coups, show that the workers cannot reach the revolutionary consciousness and organization necessary to destroy a reactionary power spontaneously in the course of the struggle. IT MUST BE BROUGHT TO THEM BY REVOLUTIONARIES ORGANIZED WITH THIS OBJECTIVE.

Thus, the formation of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International and the appearance of the first issue of its journal — *Insurreccion* ("Insurrection") — signals a new period in the life of the Bolivian working class — that of its conscious preparation for power.

Already the Committee has distinguished itself from other tendencies in Bolivia by defining as its task drawing a balance sheet of the leaderships that have failed in Bolivia and building a new one.

It is fighting for the withdrawal of the military from the mining regions, people's trials and executions of the fascist generals, and a general strike and the formation of Popular Assemblies to carry out these tasks.

This is the only road to freedom in Bolivia.

M.G.

## Price Change

Due to an unexpected and rapid escalation in our costs, we are being forced to raise the price of *Truth* to twenty-five cents per copy. In turn, an introductory subscription will now cost one dollar for six issues, and a year's subscription will be six dollars. Those who subscribed at the old rate will still receive the agreed-upon number of issues.

# The Global Conflict

## What is the UN?

An interesting demonstration of who really runs the United Nations (UN) and in whose interest it functions took place in late October. On Sunday, October 17, US Secretary of State George Shultz announced that any attempt to carry into action a recent proposal by Arab countries to expel Israel from the UN would lead the US to walk out and to refuse to pay its dues.

Result? By the end of the week, the Moslem and Arab capitalist regimes represented in the UN had heard their master's voice and come to heel.

The idea — shared by reactionaries and "radicals" alike — that the UN is some kind of international forum for denouncing imperialism before "world public opinion" has been decisively exposed as a fraud.

Oh, American imperialism will let its client states and its Stalinist agent spout off on non-essential questions, but when it comes down to who is running the UN, and who will use it for the purposes of developing and executing its policy, the US ruling class will not stand for any interference.

Lenin said of the League of Nations, the predecessor of the UN, that it was a "den of thieves." The latest sign from the UN is that it is the same operation.

## IRA Election

The plan of British imperialism to preserve its own rule in the colonial enclave of "Northern Ireland" received a substantial setback in the voting for a representative assembly on October 20.

This charade, which is supposed to represent a "power sharing" between the Irish republican minority (mostly Catholic) and the British Loyalist majority (mostly Protestant) in the gerrymandered "province," was contested by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) through its political wing, Sinn Fein ("We Ourselves"). The Sinn Fein candidates were pledged to boycott the fake assembly and to work for the unification of Ireland in a single republic independent of British imperialism.

Early results indicated that Sinn Fein had struck a major blow at the British plan. At least five, and possibly six, of its twelve candidates were elected. Sinn Fein vice-president Gerry Adams, elected from West Belfast, stated: "This is a vote for British withdrawal."

Whining about the revolutionary sentiments of people he has long falsely claimed to represent, Gerry Fitt of the Catholic "moderate" Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) cried: "This is a license for the Provisional IRA to kill."

Both statements confirm the reality that there will be no peaceful solution. Revolution is on the order of the day. The SDLP will certainly not survive this test. But can the IRA, which let Bobby Sands and others die for nothing, last any longer?

## General Strike in Ecuador

Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia have shown the world already that the working class of South America is taking the road of revolution. Now Ecuador has joined the list.

On October 21, a general strike took place throughout the country, with clashes with the forces of order, against the government's "austerity" plans.

# Strike Now! Nationalize Chrysler!

When we talk to Chrysler workers at the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant, we find that they are proud of having rejected the latest sell-out contract proposed by sell-out leaders like Fraser and Stepp.

They are right to be proud.

## Wait and See?

But we also find that this leads them into a false optimism — "That'll send them back to the bargaining table." Even more, this attitude is expressed in an idea expressed in many ways, but which could be summed up as: "We're waiting to see what they come up with now."

Immediately, then, the workers are placed on the *defensive* — "waiting to see" what their corporate and trade union bureaucracy enemies will "come up with." This is what is meant by *losing the initiative*.

Naturally enough, Fraser and the rest will "come up with" a betrayal. Thus, the Chrysler bargaining committee, *after the rejection of the contract, in other words, after their repudiation*, announced a new swindle.

Meeting on October 21, the committee, at Fraser's instigation, decided to hold *yet another* vote — this one a referendum on whether to strike now or to extend the present contract and re-open negotiations in January.

(The results of this vote will not be available by *Truth's* press time.)

What a fake! After a strike authorization vote that carried by a 90% margin, after a contract rejection by an almost 70% margin, Fraser can get up — after posing as a "democratic" union leader for a few days — and say: "I don't think any body in (the council meeting) claimed that the rejection constituted an authorization by the membership to strike."

This is a criminal act, but let us be clear. Fraser has been able to get away with it because of the attitude on the part of many members that we have already described — an attitude that leaves the union in the hands of Fraser and his gang.

That is what has to change!

There is no lack of desire by the Chrysler workers to strike. There are

even spontaneous or semi-spontaneous formations calling for the election of a strike committee, organizing for a strike and so on.

The problem has been and remains that this struggle is *only* spontaneous, is only confined to the leadership of the strike — as important as this is! — and never consciously rises to the level of struggle for the leadership of the union, still less to the level of a struggle for the *political* leadership of the whole working class.

Thus, in one such meeting, the organizers tried to exclude the Kremlin stooges of the "Spartacist League" because they were not Jefferson workers.

Again, let us be clear. We are for excluding "Spartacist" *from the workers movement* because of its slanders, lies and abuse orchestrated by the Kremlin. But we are against *any tendency in the workers movement* being excluded on the purely technical grounds of where this or that member is employed.

It is precisely in a struggle with and among these political organizations that the fight for a *new leadership* can be defined in action.

## What Policy?

For our part, we are willing to put our program up against that of any other aspirant for leadership, including those that denounce "outside organizations."

No hiding behind forms or arbitrary rules — what are you for, how do you propose to do it, what are your over-all goals?

In our last issue we posed a seven-point platform — shut Chrysler down, elect a central strike committee, spread the strike, no blackmail/plant occupations, special convention of the UAW, union candidates in the elections, down with Reagan!

That is, there cannot be a union victory that does not begin to deal with the question of who will rule in this country — of how to prepare the revolution!

For example, Fraser's latest trick is aimed at dividing the workers by playing on their hopes and fears. The hope that "the economy will get better" by next year — so there will be something for Chrysler to give. The fear that a strike now will ruin the Christmas season

and, perhaps, as the whole capitalist world from "objective" newspapers to Fraser himself says, ruin Chrysler.

This ignores the fact that if you give Chrysler time it will use it only to attack the union — including its standard practice of layoffs just before Christmas — and to demoralize the workers and prevent a strike that can make real gains.

But we are in a position to take the offensive politically.

The Chrysler loans that the big Wall Street banks made to this corporation that they own — thus collecting interest on their own capital investment! — were guaranteed by the US government. This was part of the "save Chrysler" scam, but now it raises a different possibility.

Chrysler, Fraser and the rest keep threatening the workers with closing the plants. We have already pointed out the answer to this blackmail — *plant occupations, sitdown strikes!*

But even these militant methods need a goal. In this case it has to be for the *nationalization of Chrysler* under workers control!

If the company claims it is folding, cannot repay its loans, etc., then the government becomes the owner, because it will be paying off these loans (unfortunately, we cannot stop this yet) and out of your tax dollars, too.

Chrysler has already shown that it has a place in the market, so that part of the scare tactics used against you in the past can no longer stand up.

We should demand that it be nationalized top to bottom. We should demand that the strikers who have called for and imposed this solution through their central strike committee become the administrators of the *really* "new Chrysler."

For sure, Reagan and all his helpers — including the union bureaucrats and, especially, the strike-breaking Democrats — will fight against this. That means that we will have to find — beginning now — an alternative to their capitalist politics and political parties and start to build working class politics and a Workers Party.

## Workers Party

Can all of this happen only from K.F.

"Jefferson workers" without "outsiders"? For one thing, using precisely this name, "Jefferson Worker," the Communist Party USA, which supports the attempt to crush the Polish workers, is carrying on political activity at the plant.

Can this policy of independent working class action be developed by the policies of the "Spartacist League," which likewise supports the crushing of Solidarnosc ("Solidarity"), and which put forward, at the time when Dodge Main was being closed, the idea of "selling it and dividing the money among the workers"!!?

More precisely, can this policy of workers struggle be developed *without a defeat of such political views* in open combat among groups and workers — because such ideas are the ideas that exist *in the working class itself*, and it has to fight to rid itself of them. That is what *workers democracy* is for.

The Socialist Workers Party views the struggle at Chrysler not as a decisive turn, but as some sort of minor stepping stone to something else, which is always much farther off.

So it writes in the October 22, 1982, issue of its newspaper, *The Militant*: "Recognition of this essential fact [that "collaboration between labor and the bosses leads only to worse conditions"] is the *beginning* of wisdom in *moving towards adopting a strategy* of independent working class struggle" (Emphasis added — KF).

Is it possible in so few words to minimize the questions at stake to such a degree and to so far postpone any action!?

What is at stake at Chrysler is not the idea that workers will profit along with the bosses, but whether or not American imperialism will be able to bleed and discipline its working class as a prelude to doing this in the rest of the world. What is at stake at Chrysler is the question of who will rule — in the plant, in the union and, *necessarily*, in the whole country.

That is the fight that the Trotskyist Organization is taking up now in Chrysler, a fight to build a leadership.

# Motion of Support to the Gdansk Demonstration

We workers, militants and youth, personalities, unions and union organizations, political groups and organizations, support the initiative for an *International Workers Demonstration* on December 13, 1982, in Gdansk — in order to declare the active solidarity of fighters for socialism from every country with the Polish workers and youth who will take to the streets on the anniversary of Jaruzelski's military takeover.

*Because we are fighting for socialism*, the rebellion of the Polish workers against the totalitarian regime in their country is also ours. It is a *working class revolution* that constitutes the best hope for socialism, as well as for the fight of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world.

*Because we are fighting for socialism*, and because it can be built only through the free association of peoples and through the workers councils, because it is in total contradiction to the oppression of one people by another or by a totalitarian oligarchy, we demand: *Freedom for Workers Poland!*

And we denounce the attempts by imperialism to make use of the Polish workers' rebellion for its own anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary ends. Imperialism has clearly shown, by its oppression of peoples all over the world and by the recent war of extermination against the Palestinian people, what the freedom and independence of peoples is worth to it. But we also denounce the Kremlin's pretense of being the leader of the anti-imperialist struggle. Its guilty

silence on the extermination of the Palestinian fighters and the Lebanese left shows that it is ready to bargain the freedom of a people for its tanks' freedom of action in the countries that it oppresses.

*Because we are fighting for socialism*, and because socialism is inconceivable without the development of all working class rights, in particular, freedom of assembly and of association, we demand: *Freedom for Political Parties in Poland!*

The Kremlin and its military junta in Poland, far from being the saviors of

socialism, are its gravediggers. The repression of workers and militants in Eastern Europe, the absence of civic freedoms, the attempts to crush Solidarnosc, are the best ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie against socialism and those fighting for it in the West.

*Because we are fighting for socialism*, and because it will be built against Jaruzelski's military junta and against all those who carry out its totalitarian rule over the internment camps, the repression and the frame-up political trials, we demand:

*Stop the Political Trials in Poland!*

# Defend the Polish Trotskyists

Following the conviction of the members of the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland), the trials of the "reformers" of the KOR (Workers Defense Committee) are next on the agenda. Among others, this includes Jacek Kuron, the best-known leader of the KOR.

The chief cry from the prosecutors is that Kuron and the KOR are connected to a supposed imperialist-controlled "Trotskyite-terrorist" network.

We have already pointed out that the Trotskyists Jaruzelski is aiming at are us, is the Fourth International (see *The Fourth International* #98-99).

In turn, these attacks will next be

aimed directly at us, the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland (RLRP), the only party fighting for the power of the workers councils.

A vast amalgam, from Reagan to Jaruzelski to "Spartacist," is shaping up to attack the Polish Revolution as an imperialist attack — and to behead the revolutionary leadership.

Defend the Polish Trotskyists! Build with them and their International the party of the political revolution in Poland. In particular, to do this, make a contribution to the International Workers Fund. Send to the address of this paper and make checks payable to *Truth*.

With your help, we can build the

*Free Walesa, Kuron and All Those Imprisoned!*

*Lift the State of War!*

*Freedom for Solidarnosc!*

Because we are fighting for socialism, we will not let the Polish working class revolution be strangled. We will demonstrate, or insure our active support to all those coming from different countries who will demonstrate, on December 13, 1982, in Gdansk — challenging Jaruzelski's junta at the side of the Polish workers.

leadership that will put Jaruzelski on trial!

TRUTH

## Correction

In the last issue of *Truth* a line was inadvertently deleted from the article on the NBIPP convention. The article should read:

"... Either to a party to prepare the revolution... or to the imperialist Democratic Party. Why should this party be separated from a mobilization for the general strike to bring down Reagan and a break with the Democratic Party? We don't think it should..."

# After the withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut, and the massacres at Sabra and Shatilla: Draw the Lessons of a Defeat!

The Fourth International addresses itself to the workers and youth of Palestine and the entirety of the countries of the Middle East, in order to draw the lessons which are demanded, as an absolute necessity to pursue the struggle, after the defeat undergone by the Palestinian people in Lebanon.

The Fourth International calls on the workers to look reality in the face, as bitter as it may be. Arafat's declarations on the "moral victory of the PLO," on the "diplomatic recognition," won in the course of the war in Lebanon, cannot change this reality nor trick anyone.

In the midst of the military and moral defeat that the PLO and the entirety of the Palestinian people have just undergone — the most tragic since 1948 — such declarations can only serve to mask the *historic failure* of those who until now have been their leadership, and obstruct the balance sheet and the necessary reorganization on new revolutionary bases of the Palestinian workers and the young generation of fighters.

For the reality is that neither the Black September of the bloody king of Jordan nor the massacre of Tel al Zataar succeeded in inflicting such a terrible coup — in disarming and dispersing the fighters of the PLO and making them hostages, threatened with extermination at any moment under the heel of the Arab regimes which were accomplices in the horrors of Beirut; in surrendering thousands of women and children to massacre.

For, the reality, the most difficult to accept, is that the withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut without waging the decisive battle against the army of Sharon and Begin constitutes a *shameful capitulation which forever disqualifies the leaders who accepted it*, leaving the fate of the Lebanese people and the Palestinians families in the hands of imperialism. The "interposition forces," as they are called by these leaders, played no other role than that of hastening the departure of the Palestinian fighters and preparing the terrain for the occupation of Beirut by the Israeli army. Only a brigand like Mitterrand, happy to see the departure of the fighters and dreaming of making Lebanon once again a French protectorate, can speak of "departure in honor and dignity."

The justification of this capitulation in the name of the necessity of "preserving the forces of the PLO," is nothing but a pitiful lie. The truth is that these forces, far from being preserved, have been dislocated, dispersed and demoralized. History has already proven that the worst defeats are those where the oppressed leave the terrain of battle without delivering the decisive struggle. Even the worst military defeat at Beirut, which was not inevitable, would never have had the disastrous effect that this withdrawal, this retreat, has had.

The Fourth International, which has always loyally defended the cause of the Palestinian people, and which from the camps of Stalin and Hitler and, today, those of Jaruzelski, up to the last barricades of the Spanish Revolution has always linked its fate to that of the proletariat and the oppressed, possesses the moral authority necessary to say that.

The departure of the PLO has permitted imperialism to destroy in Lebanon the principal home of the revolution in the Middle East. The *coup de grace* struck by the Israeli army against the militias of the Lebanese left and the exemplary massacres at Sabra and Shatilla are nothing but the consequence, as foreseeable as they were inevitable, of this retreat.

What are the handshakes and the blessings of the pope worth next to this? Here again, the workers, the fighters, can only hear with disgust Arafat's protests on the "betrayal" of Habib, Reagan, Sarkis and Begin, who did not "keep their word." What is the word of these scoundrels worth? They, they did nothing but carry their plan through to the end. Misery to the oppressed if they expect from them any other sort of behavior!

## Stalinism

The blow struck by reaction against the Palestinian people — and through this against the Lebanese workers and peoples

of the entire region — is the result of an international counterrevolutionary plot.

More clearly than ever, the criminal complicity of the Arab regimes, which belong to imperialism, appeared in broad daylight during the war in Lebanon. After that, Arafat's kisses to Hussein, Fahd and Hassan in Fez, have the air of a sinister farce.

If they want to win in the future, the new generation will have to bury illusions in Pan-Arabism and "the unity of the Arab nation" (feudal masters and workers mixed up) alongside the victims of Sabra and Shatilla.

But the principal responsibility for this defeat and this capitulation lies with the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

It was Stalinism which in the first place expanded and reinforced these illusions destined to tie the oppressed masses with their masters; it is Stalinism that offered them adventurers like Khaddafi as leaders or that legitimized chiefs like Khomeini. And before the unequivocal abandonment of the Palestinians by the Kremlin it takes Stalinist spokesmen like Hawatmeh to declare: "The Russians can't be any more Arab than the Arabs themselves!" What can now be said of the leaders of the currents which before the working masses of the region usurped the banner of the Fourth International? The workers must remember the "theories" of the United Secretariat of Mandel and Krivine on the "Arab Revolution." They will have to remember Healy's enthusiastic chants about Khaddafi. They will not forget Lambert's proposal characterizing Khomeini as the "centralizer of the revolutionary action of the masses."

Of these leaders as well, the workers and youth must draw a conclusive balance sheet.

## A Warning

Without the betrayal of the Kremlin, the Zionist army would not have been able to spread out over Lebanon or impose terror in Beirut. Brezhnev's message to Reagan — the day following the massacres themselves! — must be understood as a cynical confession of complicity.

The revolutionary reorganization of the workers of the region cannot begin to happen except with a conscious rupture with Stalinism and under the banner of the Fourth International.

The betrayal of the Kremlin constitutes a solemn warning for all the peoples of the Orient, of Central America, and Africa, which struggle for their emancipation from the imperialists' yoke. The Kremlin's capitulation in Lebanon, searching for a place in the barbarous order of imperialism, already calls for other betrayals, other capitulations.

It is a question of a serious warning for the proletariat of Europe and America. The cowardice with which the Stalinist parties permitted this crime to be perpetrated in Lebanon says much about what these parties are worth for the workers struggles, about the battles that these parties will be capable of organizing against reaction at the hour of the great class confrontations that Beirut, El Salvador and Poland announce and hasten.

Poland! Remember! Remember the embarrassed or cynical reactions of the leaders of these parties! The uprising of the Polish workers they said, in fact, "played into the hands of the imperialists."

Workers! How many times did they tell you that it was not necessary to concern yourselves with Poland? How many times did they try to smother the voice of the Polish workers by talking about the "anti-imperialist struggle"? How many times did they oppose them to the Palestinian or Salvadoran fighters?

Look at them now! The friends of Jaruzelski and Brezhnev, those who wanted to isolate the Polish Revolution, have been incapable of mobilizing the working class in defense of the Palestinian people at the hour of truth! They will be the same in the future.

Even when these parties — that of Marchais at the head — called on the workers to take to the streets to protest the massacres, they did it in the name of peace, that is to say, in the name of the same

solutions that imperialism is trying to impose with blood and fire in the Middle East. Even more, Marchais demonstrated in order to support Mitterrand, his sending of troops to Beirut and his imperialist aims.

Here as well the workers and youth can distinguish the Fourth International, which has been characterized by its intransigent denunciation of the reactionary policy of Mitterrand, from the currents who fraudulently claim to be Trotskyist. While in the streets of Paris thousands of immigrant workers cried "Arab regimes accomplices," the shameful silence of Krivine and Lambert before the criminal responsibility of Mitterrand's bourgeois government shows the inability of these leaderships to have any sort of independent attitude during the workers battles that are emerging on the horizon.

## Revolutionary Reorganization

The *reorganization of the revolutionary vanguard* that the *irreversible* failure of the petty bourgeois leaderships like the PLO places on the order of the day, can only be made alongside the Polish proletariat, in the name of socialism, against the usurpation of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

This is the content that the Fourth International gives to the internationalist demonstration that it is convoking on December 13 in the streets of Gdansk.

Concretely, the resurgence of the Palestinian Revolution, a new elan of its forces, is being decided in a decisive manner in Europe and the USA, and in the first place, in the future of the Polish Revolution.

Remember that the day after Jaruzelski's military coup, Begin annexed the Golan Heights and thus took the first step toward war. The siege of Beirut has already been decided in the international arena of the class struggle. The absence of an energetic reaction of the international proletariat, under the control of the Stalinist and Social Democratic Parties, gave imperialism and the Zionist army a free hand.

The reorganization of the vanguard constitutes today the most urgent task and the only pledge for the future. Without the advance of a new leadership, authentically proletarian and revolutionary, the contradictions from which the revolution itself surges, will be resolved by counterrevolutionary war and the bloody coups of reaction. The tragic conclusion of the war in Lebanon shows how, without such a leadership, even a situation full of revolutionary possibilities can be condemned to defeat.

The current mobilization of the Jewish workers and youth against Begin and Sharon constitutes the beginning of a turn in their consciousness and the expression of the possibilities which are offered to revolutionaries. Nevertheless, under the corrupt leadership of the Laborites, this mobilization will not be able to join the struggle of the Palestinian people nor turn itself against the Zionist state. Did not Begin recall with cynicism that the policy of Peres and Rabin was not much different from his own? This "opposition" is nothing but a safety valve for the Israeli state. It will be completely incapable of opposing itself consequently to a new bloody crusade in the Bekaa. It will prove to be completely impotent in face of a coup d'etat if the Knesset or the Histadrut become too bothersome for Sharon. No "peaceful" nor "democratic" — as much for the oppressed Palestinian people as for the Jewish workers themselves — is possible in the framework of the maintenance of the state of Israel.

If Jewish people do not want to be condemned to be the troops in a permanent war for the benefit of imperialism, their proletariat must orient itself resolutely toward a new perspective: that of the *abolition of the state of Israel*, that of the establishment alongside the Palestinian people, of a *Palestinian republic, secular and democratic, based on the councils of workers and peasants*.

The realization of this revolutionary perspective will depend above all on the advance of a new *Workers International*, heir to Lenin's call for the emancipation of peoples, among the working masses of the Middle East.

This perspective, inseparable from that of the *Socialist United States of the Middle East*, is the only one that can now animate the necessary *struggles of resistance* in the Bekaa, in Beirut and in the occupied territories and the *recomposition* of the Palestinian fighting forces, as well as those of the Lebanese proletariat.

The reactionary perspective of imperialism, today taken up without shame by Arafat, of creating a Palestinian reserve in Jordan, under the masters of Israel and under Hussein, can only increase the disorganization and demoralization of the masses.

As well, the Lebanese workers must reject all illusions in national unity or in the reconstruction of Lebanon under the aegis of Gemayel's bloody clans and the Christian bourgeoisie. The war has already shown that such a reconstruction can only signify the institutionalization of the Phalangist reign of terror, disguised in the "national army," under the parsonage of Israel and imperialism.

The resistance to the military occupation of Lebanon and to the reorganization of the bourgeois state will find sympathy and support from the international proletariat. This resistance can count, from now on, on the unconditional support of the Fourth International. Just as it struggled to break the isolation of the Palestinian fighters in Beirut, the Fourth International calls now for the workers and youth of all countries to mobilize themselves actively for the *immediate withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon and the occupied territories* and to organize in all countries a *workers boycott of the state of Israel*.

In particular, the European and American workers must demand the withdrawal of the so-called "interposition forces" from Lebanon destined above all to support the reactionary Lebanese army and whose true mission has been to prepare the massacre.

Through these struggles, assimilating the hard lessons of a defeat, the revolutionary vanguard will be tempered and be capable of assuring victory tomorrow.

Workers and youth!

In order to prepare your revenge against the assassins today, assemble under the proletarian banner of the Fourth International!

Paris, September 26, 1982  
The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International

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